1: Linton E-8 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

301 When in full dress, both men and women wear flat silver bracelets, open on one side (Fig. 22, c), and heavy silver neck chains. A few of the bracelets are made locally, but most of them, together with the chains, are obtained from the Betsileo. I never saw a finger ring worn. Feathers, flowers, or other natural products are never used for decoration. Body and face painting occur as a part of some ceremonies, but never for decoration.

302 At present, nearly all men wear their hair cut short, European fashion. Women retain the ancient hair-dressing, which was originally the same for both sexes. The scalp is divided by a series of lengthwise and crosswise partings into a number of rectangular patches, each about 2 inches square. The hair from each patch is then rubbed with grease and water, and braided. In braiding, it is drawn out as tightly as possible, to eliminate the natural kink. If the hair is short and woolly, the end of the braid is wrapped with a thread of raffia and the braids stand out from the head in all directions. If the hair is long, each braid is rolled into a flat, oval plaque, like a leaf, and securely sewn with thread. The plaques lie flat on the head, overlapping. The coiffure is then soaked with oil, to discourage vermin. The hair is rarely dressed oftener than once a month. Combs of wood or bamboo splints are used for dressing the hair, but are never worn (Fig. 22, g, h, j, k). In former times, Zafimaniry men sometimes attached a short string of large beads or some other small charm to the central braid on the back of the head (Fig. 22, e, f).

142 The native beard and body hair are naturally light. There is a good deal of individual variation, but even the hairiest natives are less so than the average north European. Men are almost always clean shaven. I was told that old men sometimes grew beards, but
302 I never saw one. If the facial hair is sparse, it is plucked out with small iron tweezers. If it is fairly heavy, it is shaved off with a small knife of ordinary form (Fig. 1, f). In shaving, the beard is moistened with cold water and scraped off a few hairs at a time. The razors are dull and rough-edged, and the process is slow and painful. Both sexes pluck the pubic and axillary hair.

304 Both men and women tattoo slightly on the arms and breast, but never on the face. The most extensive tattooing is seen among the Zafimaniry, where women often have bracelets tattooed on the wrists and a sort of band or collar on the chest. The designs used here are similar to those used in the native wood carving, but simpler.

1: Linton E-6 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

304 178 The tattooing is purely decorative and informants say that it is a matter of fashion and seems to run in cycles. It will sometimes be out of style for years, then some popular young person will be tattooed and many of his or her friends will follow suit, often using the same designs. The patterns are pricked in with an ordinary needle and then rubbed with soot.

There seems to be no ornamental scarification and no mutilation.

TRANSPORTATION

482 [492] The Tanala make no use of animals for draft or burden and are unfamiliar with the wheel. Women carry loads on the head, but rarely take heavy ones and never act as professional bearers. Men sometimes carry on the head for short distances, but do it clumsily, being accustomed to using a shoulder pole. This pole is made from a large bamboo or sapling of light wood 2½ to 3 inches in diameter and is usually 5 to 6 feet long. If of wood, the bark is removed, but the pole is not shaped in any way. The load is divided as equally as possible and slung from the ends. Heavy loads are carried on a longer pole between two men.

481 The Tanala carry light loads, about thirty pounds per man being the standard pack for long distance travel. However, they march fast, making twenty to thirty miles a day over very difficult country. They march without rests, but halt for two hours or more in the middle of the day, cooking a meal and perhaps sleeping for a time. The trails are mostly very steep and narrow and take the most direct line, with little attention to the slope. There are no bridges.

484 [493] At the present time, white travelers and the richer natives are carried in sedan chairs (*filanjana*), which are borne on the shoulders of four men. The Tanala Menabe say that they did not use this appliance in pre-European times. There seems to have been very little long distance travel prior to the European conquest and even now the average native, unless drafted for labor, rarely goes more than twenty or thirty miles from the village of his birth.

501 Canoes are used, but are relatively unimportant. Most of the streams in the Tanala territory are shallow and swift, with many falls and rapids. There is no regular river transport and most of the canoes are used for ferrying or fishing. They are identical with the river canoes used by the east coast tribes, but are inferior in workmanship. Some of the largest are as much as 25 to 30 feet long, but none of them exceed 2 feet in width.

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8!

kept clean, being bathed at least once a day with cold water. Very 854
small children are carried in the arms almost constantly, husbands and older children doing their share. From the age of about four months on, the child is carried in the back of its mother's dress (see Costume). It is supported by the belt about her waist and sits with its legs on either side of her body and its head and shoulders protruding above the garment. It is protected from sun and rain by a small mat hung about her neck. These baby covers are always made by the women themselves and it is impossible to purchase one which has been in use, although this seems to be only a matter of sentiment on the mother's part. The child remains on the mother's back except at night or when it is being nursed. I have often seen women with children on their backs working in the fields, the baby sleeping soundly although its head was jerked to and fro by her movements. Children continue to be carried for some time after they can walk.

No clothing is worn under the age of about three years. Even when carried on the back, there is no equivalent for the European diaper. As soon as the child begins to be carried in the mother's [863]
dress it is slapped for befouling her and it learns to control its functions at a surprisingly early age. This was the only offense for which I ever saw a Tanala child punished.

Nursing seems to be continued as long as the mother's milk holds 853
out, although the infant is given a little rice or other soft food as soon as it will take it. There is no idea of regularity in feeding and the child is given the breast whenever it cries. It is generally believed that a new pregnancy has a bad effect on the health of the child next older. As many mothers are still nursing when the pregnancy begins, this belief probably has a sound basis of fact, but they ascribe the poor health of the older child to its jealousy of the coming one.

Infant mortality is excessively high and even prior to European 165
contact the population must have remained almost static. No statis- 164
tics are available but practically every family I knew had lost one or more children in infancy. The greatest loss seems to be from intestinal diseases, but small children also suffer from malaria. Adults, on the other hand, appear to be almost immune as long as they remain in their own districts. When they go elsewhere, they are liable to contract it, although usually in a milder form than Europeans.

CIRCUMCISION

All males are circumcised, but there is no corresponding operation 304
for females. The circumciser is a professional, but the trade is not

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

304 hereditary and no special prestige attaches to it. The tools are a small knife (Fig. 1, f), a flat piece of wood on which the cutting is done, and various herb remedies to stop the bleeding. The operation [757] is always performed in the cold season, as wounds heal more readily at that time. Apparently infection is rare and I never heard of death or even serious complications following the operation.

304 852 596 Among the Tanala Ikongo circumcision is a family ceremony. The operation may be performed a few days after birth, but is usually delayed two to five years. The members of the family assemble in the *trano be* ("village assembly house"). The head of the lineage brings a pot of rum or *betsabetsa* ("honey beer") to be drunk after the ceremony. He opens the eastern door of the *trano be* and addresses a prayer to the ancestors, asking that there may not be much bleeding and that the wound may heal quickly. If the father is rich and wishes to honor the child he may kill an ox, but this is to provide meat for the feast, not as a sacrifice.

After the head of the lineage has prayed, the father places the child between the horns of the ox, if one has been killed, or holds him on his knees, facing forward. The *mpamora* ("circumciser") lays the child's penis on his cutting board, draws the foreskin as far forward as possible, and cuts it off with a single stroke. The wound is then washed with an astringent liquid made from the leaves of an unidentified bush. The foreskin is thrown on the roof of the house or, less frequently, is pressed into a soft banana and eaten by the father. The circumciser's fee is a cock and 1.20 francs in money. If an ox has been killed he receives the head in addition to his regular share of the meat. The ceremony ends in a feast with singing, dancing, and liberal drinking.

Among the Tanala Menabe most of the ceremonial accompaniments of circumcision have disappeared. The annual ceremony, to be described later, is no longer held. There are itinerant circumcisers who travel from village to village. Whenever they see a child who has not been circumcised they ask permission to perform the operation and do so without formality. Their regular fee is a cock and 0.60 franc in money.

852 304 Until about twenty years ago each village held an annual circumcision ceremony at which all children born during the preceding year were operated upon. The ceremony was announced some time in advance and people from smaller or dependent villages would bring in their children also, so that as many as thirty or forty might be circumcised at one time. Before a child could be circumcised it

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FYS Tanala FYS

was necessary to have the permission of his maternal grandfather and if it was impossible to communicate with him the operation would be delayed until the next year. 304 852

Each village had a special sacrifice post, called *ziro*, which was only used at this ceremony. It was set up in the *kianza* ("village square"). The post was made from a hard, red wood and was really two posts, planted one behind the other and lashed together with bands of vines near the top and bottom (Fig. 23, 1). The rear post was forked, in imitation of a bull's horns, while the front post had a flat top which was on a level with the bottom of the crotch in the rear post. Dimensions were variable, but the *ziro* was rarely more than 4 to 4½ feet high. There was usually only one *ziro* in a village, but there might be several. Men who wished to honor their sons would erect new ones. No ceremony attended their erection.

On the day preceding the ceremony an ox was killed and the sacrificial parts cooked. The top of the hump was also cooked, cut in two, and a half of it impaled on each point of the *ziro*. Part of the cooked meat, with rice, was then put on the flat top of the front post. The sacrifice was performed by a regular *mpsaotra* ("sacrificial priest") chosen from one of the families having a child circumcised. After placing the offerings he invoked first the gods and then the ancestors by the regular formula, announcing that they were being summoned on account of the circumcision and asking their blessing so that there would be little bleeding and no accidents. The rest of the meat was divided, one part being cooked for food during the all-night ceremony while the other was left raw to be worn by the spearsmen next morning.

After the *ziro* sacrifice, the people assembled in the *trano be* ("assembly house") of the village, which was beside the *kianza* ("square"). If it was not large enough to hold them all two or three other houses were pressed into service. The *trano be* was divided into two parts by a rope stretched from the east to the west wall. The northern half of the house was called *toeronolompady*. Here the children were placed, with their close relatives on both the mother's and father's sides, and the people who would take part in the morning procession. In the southern half of the house, which had no special name, friends from the village assembled and danced and sang all night. The songs were meant to strengthen the children and insure them good fortune when they grew up. One was: 304 852 539

Ombiiahy masangitra
Mena maso fandradraha.

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

304 "An ox with sharp horns and red eyes always attacks." This would
852 make the boys grow into strong, brave and warlike men. Another
539 song was:

Rango, zaza, rongo,
Zaza rangoina tsimarera.

"Sing, child, sing. A singing child does not bleed much." This warded off excessive bleeding. In this singing two or three persons sang the verse, and the whole company came in on the last word, the
852 usual Malagasy method. Everyone feasted but there was little
304 drinking, for decorum had to be preserved. It was expressly for-
[834] bidden for the people in the north half of the house to have sexual relations during the night, even if they were man and wife, and for them to quarrel or make obscene remarks. Persons who broke these rules were fined 5.00 francs, for it would cause the children to bleed badly.

In the early morning, before sunrise, all the people from the north side of the house went down to the river, singing and dancing as they went. The group consisted of the children, each with his bearer, either six or twelve young women, and a guard of spearsmen, one for each child. The child was carried by a male relative: his maternal uncle, paternal uncle, father or elder brother, in order of desirability. The young women might be either married or unmarried, but must have fortunate names. The spearsmen were chosen for their prowess and did not have to be relatives. They were armed with spear and shield and wore a strip of raw meat, from the previous day's sacrifice, over the left shoulder and across the breast, like a bandoleer. This was to show that the children were of rich families and that meat was abundant. When the group arrived at the river the children's penises were washed. Men dipped up water and gave it to the girl water carriers in horn drinking cups which were either white or spotted with white earth. This water was called *ranondriana* ("water of the fall"), but any running water would do if it was taken so early in the morning that "no bird had passed over it." On the return the spearsmen went first, then the girls carrying water, then the children, carried so that they faced forward. Outside the village the procession was met by the people from the southern half of the *trano be* armed with spears, sharp bamboos and stones. There was a regular fight
[781] in which people were often injured or even killed. If one of the spearsmen was wounded or fell, it was a bad omen for the child he represented, who would have a misfortune in war. Finally the column forced its way into the village.

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When the column reached the *kianza*, it marched around the *trano be* six times. Just inside the west door two men with spears were stationed and these pretended to thrust at the spearsmen as they came in. The spearsmen entered one by one, as quickly as possible and went into the northern half of the house. The water carriers and children then entered without opposition. The circumciser stood on the edge of the *kianza*, outside the eastern "window" of the house. This window was as high as the door, but narrower. The water carriers passed out of the house again by the north door and stood beside the circumciser to pour water over the organs as they were cut. There was also a man who had medicine in the end of an *akondro fotsy* ("black banana") stalk. The bearers brought the children to the window one by one, the oldest child first. The circumciser drew the foreskin as far forward as possible and cut it off with a single stroke of a small, very sharp knife. A woman poured water over it and the man with the banana stalk squeezed a few drops of the medicine on it. The bearer then passed out with the child and the next took his place. The children were taken home and played no further part in the ceremony.

After the operation a feast was prepared in the *trano be* and eaten by all who had taken part in the ceremony but not by others. After this the cattle which were to be killed for the general feast were brought to the *kianza* and the white rice which had been prepared for it was heaped up there on mats. The head of one of the families which had had a child circumcised made a speech, thanking everyone for his help and offering him meat, rice and rum. The number of cattle to be killed was announced and two or three were slaughtered each day. The feast might last a week. All the people danced and sang and the children's parents were always expected to dance. After the father had danced, his close relatives gave him gifts, money and even cattle, to honor him publicly. The other dancers received small gifts, the Tanala custom at all feasts. There was a good deal of rum drinking and much sexual license. The latter was an accompaniment of most Tanala feasts and it was not considered as a part of the ceremony.

The ceremony just described was that practiced by the Manandriana gens, which had assumed royal rank. The ceremonies of the other gentes were simpler. They did not take women or children to the water and only the spearsmen were attacked on the return. The water carriers were men, who might bring the water in utensils of any sort. The Zafimamiry and Zafindiamanana gentes stationed

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

852 men inside the door of the *trano be* armed with clubs or rice pestles,
304 not spears, and the Zafindriamitrova omitted this feature.

The fact that a group of boys had gone through the circumcision ceremony together did not establish any bond between them. The Tanala have nothing suggestive of formal age groupings.

STATUS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

948 The Tanala consider it a calamity for either a man or a woman to be childless. Little social stigma attaches to an unmarried mother and what there is is counterbalanced by the desire for fertile wives. An illegitimate child is no hindrance to a successful marriage.

Among the Tanala Menabe a man who marries the mother as his first wife will normally adopt her illegitimate child, although it is not compulsory. If he takes her as a second or third wife and already has children, he will not adopt the child, but will contribute to its support. Illegitimacy does not affect the social status of an individual except in so far as it places him at an economic disadvantage. He shares equally with legitimate children in his mother's estate, but has no claim on that of his father, even if the relationship is well known. As land rights are transmitted exclusively through men and most cattle belong to men, the illegitimate child is almost certain to be poor. There are few opportunities for him to acquire capital even when adult and he can rarely rise to importance in the tribe.

Among the Tanala Ikongo much more social stigma attaches to illegitimacy. Such children are looked down on and jeered at and illegitimate boys find it hard to get wives. In at least some of the gentes, bastards are forbidden to enter the *trano be* ("assembly house") and are not considered full gens members. All the disabilities are, however, removed by adoption.

ORPHANS

736 The Tanala consider as orphans children who have lost a father or both parents. The loss of a mother is felt to be less serious. Children who have lost both parents are supported by their father's relatives, but they are often slighted and their lot is considered a miserable one. Fatherless children are somewhat better off, for the mother will work the father's land for their benefit.

ADOPTION

597 Adoption, *miantsozaza*, seems to be rather rare. It is practiced only by men who have no children of their own. Among the Tanala